

Page Denied

Next 1 Page(s) In Document Denied

FOIA

12/29/

SECRET

FRP: .2, ., .6, .8

STATE

25X1

82 7764789

SSO

PAGE 001

NC 7764789

TOR: 071006Z JAN 82

OO RUEAIIIB

ZNY SSSSS ZOC STATE ZZH

UTS7338

OO RUEHC

DE RUDKRW #0209/01 0070840

ZNY SSSSS ZZH ZZK

O R 070812Z JAN 82 ZFF-4

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5452

INFO RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 5427

RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON 5014

RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 8345

RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4632

RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 2381

RUFHNA/USMISSION USNATO 3894

BT

S E C R E T WARSAW 0209 COMBINED SECTION

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/688 (WILGIS, HERBERT E.) OR-M

TAGS: PGOV, PINR, PINT, PL

SUBJECT: (S) A VIEW FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATE

1. (S) - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: ACCORDING TO A MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE, JARUZELSKI WAS RELUCTANT TO DECLARE MARTIAL LAW AND IS PRESENTLY UNDECIDED ON HOW TO PROCEED. THE GENERAL IS PERSONALLY INCLINED TOWARD REFORM BUT IS RECEIVING CONFLICTING ADVICE AND HAS NOT MADE UP HIS MIND. SOURCE CLAIMS THAT CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND SOLIDARITY AND THE GOVERNMENT AND CHURCH ARE ON THE SURFACE CONCERNED WITH TECHNICAL MATTERS BUT ARE POLITICALLY SIGNIFICANT AND COULD LEAD TO IMPORTANT RESULTS. END SUMMARY.

3. DCM MET JANUARY 6 WITH JAN SZCZEPANSKI, NON-PARTY MEMBER

SECRET

fifty

SECRET

STATE

82 7764789

SSO

PAGE 002

NC 7764789

TOR: 071006Z JAN 82

OF THE COUNCIL OF STATES (STRICTLY PROTECT). AS A MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL, SZCZEPANSKI WAS INVOLVED IN THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW AND CLAIMS THAT HE HAS SINCE MET WITH JARUZELSKI TO ADVISE THE GENERAL TO END MARTIAL LAW AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, RESTORE CIVIL LIBERTIES, AND RETURN TO A REFORM PATH. WHILE THE EMBASSY DOES NOT REGARD SZCZEPANSKI AS A DECISION-MAKER IN POLAND TODAY, HE OCCUPIES HIGH POSITION, APPARENTLY HAS ACCESS TO JARUZELSKI, AND HAS SOME RESPECT IN POLAND. HIS ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION SHOULD BE READ IN THIS LIGHT.

4. DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW: SOURCE CLAIMED THAT HE WAS PICKED UP AT HIS APARTMENT BY A SOLDIER LATE IN THE NIGHT OF DECEMBER 12 AND DRIVEN BY MILITARY VEHICLE TO AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL WERE ASSEMBLED IN THE SAME MANNER, WHICH MAY ACCOUNT FOR REPORTS THAT THEY WERE ALL ARRESTED SOURCE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT THESE REPORTS ARE NOT TRUE; NO MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL WAS ARRESTED. ALL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL ATTENDED THE MEETING EXCEPT FOR "A FEW" WHO HAPPENED NOT BE PHYSICALLY PRESENT IN WARSAW AND THEREFORE NOT IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE.

5. THE MEETING WAS CONVENED AND PRESIDED OVER BY HENRYK JABLONSKI, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE. SOME GENERALS WERE PRESENT, BUT NOT JARUZELSKI, WHO WAS BUSY DIRECTING MILITARY MOVEMENTS. JABLONSKI ASKED THE COUNCIL TO DECLARE A STATE OF MARTIAL LAW AS PROVIDED FOR IN THE CONSTITUTION. (SOURCE DEFENDED THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE COUNCIL'S ACTIONS.) JABLONSKI ALSO PRESENTED A DRAFT DECREE OF MARTIAL LAW MEASURES WHICH HAD BEEN PREPARED BY GOVERNMENT LAWYERS. A DEBATE FOLLOWED, WHICH CENTERED AROUND THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE COUNCIL OF STATE SHOULD MERELY DECLARE THE STATE OF MARTIAL LAW AND CREATION OF THE NATIONAL MILITARY COUNCIL OF SALVATION AND LEAVE TO THE LATTER THE ISSUANCE OF MARTIAL LAW DECREES, OR WHETHER THE PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL ITSELF HAD THE POWER TO ISSUE THE DECREES. THE GENERALS PRESENT ARGUED FOR THE LATTER, POINTING OUT THAT THE MILITARY WANTED TO LEAVE THE GOVERNMENT IN PLACE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. FOR THIS SAME REASON, THE GENERALS ARGUED, IT WAS BEST NOT TO DISSOLVE PARLIAMENT.

6. WHEN THE VOTE CAME, THE GENERALS' PLAN WAS APPROVED WITH

SECRET

SECRET

STATE

82 7764789

SSO

PAGE 003

NC 7764789

TOR: 071006Z JAN 82

ONE NEGATIVE VOTE BY RYSZARD REIFF (PAX) AND ONE ABSTENTION BY SOURCE (WHO THOUGHT THAT THE PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL HAD THE POWER ONLY TO DECLARE MARTIAL LAW, NOT TO ISSUE THE IMPLEMENTING DECREES).

7. ATTITUDE OF JARUZELSKI PRE-DECEMBER 13: SOURCE CLAIMED THAT JARUZELSKI HAD BEEN MOST RELUCTANT TO ASK FOR MARTIAL LAW. HE ONLY DECIDED TO DO SO AT THE LAST MINUTE AFTER HE LEARNED OF THE DECISIONS OF SOLIDARITY AT RADOM. IT WOULD STILL HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE TO AVOID MARTIAL LAW IF SOLIDARITY HAD BACKED OFF FROM THE RADOM DECISIONS AT ITS MEETING IN GDANSK, BUT INSTEAD IT ENDORSED THEM A CONTRIBUTING FACTOR TO JARUZELSKI'S DECISION WAS SOLIDARITY'S ALLEGED ANTI-PARTY CAMPAIGN IN FACTORIES, DESIGNED TO ISOLATE THE PARTY FROM THE WORKERS. SOURCE CLAIMED THAT THE CORRECTNESS OF JARUZELSKI'S DECISION HAS BEEN MADE APPARENT BY DOCUMENTS SEIZED IN SOLIDARITY OFFICES DECEMBER 13, ESPECIALLY IN WARSAW. THESE DOCUMENTS SHOW CLEARLY THAT SOLIDARITY WAS PLANNING TO SEIZE POWER FROM THE GOVERNMENT.

8. ATTITUDE OF JARUZELSKI POST-DECEMBER 13: SOURCE CLAIMED THAT HE MET WITH JARUZELSKI FOR TWO HOURS ON JANUARY 5. HE PRESENTED TO THE GENERAL A PROPOSAL FOR CREATION OF A COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL UNITY COMPOSED OF SELECTED SEJM DEPUTIES REPRESENTING ALL FACTIONS IN POLAND, INCLUDING SOLIDARITY. THIS COMMITTEE WOULD SEEK WAYS OF FIRST AMELIORATING MARTIAL LAW; SECOND, END MARTIAL LAW AS SOON AS POSSIBLE; AND THIRD, EXPLORE WAYS OF RETURNING THE COUNTRY TO REFORM AND RENEWAL.

9. JARUZELSKI IS ALSO BEING ADVISED BY A GROUP OF GENERALS AND PARTY LEADERS TO MOVE IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION: CLAMP THE LID ON TIGHTER, RESTORE A REVITALIZED PARTY TO THE LEADING ROLE IN THE COUNTRY, AND USE MARTIAL LAW TO PASS VARIOUS CONTROL AND REFORM (SUCH AS PRICE INCREASES) MEASURES WHICH ARE NEEDED BUT HAVE BEEN IMPOSSIBLE TO IMPLEMENT. SOURCE IDENTIFIED ONLY STANISLAW KOCIOLEK (WARSAW PARTY BOSS AND HARDLINER) AMONG MEMBERS OF THIS GROUP.

10. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, JARUZELSKI IS UNDECIDED ABOUT WHICH ADVICE TO ACCEPT. HE PERSONALLY IS INCLINED TOWARD THE

SECRET

fifty

SECRET

STATE

82 7764789

SSO

PAGE 004

NC 7764789

TOR: 071006Z JAN 82

REFORM COURSE, BUT HAS NOT DECIDED HOW AND WHEN (INDEED IF) TO PROCEED. IN THE MEANTIME, HE HAS ALLOWED THIRTY-ONE ECONOMIC REFORM BILLS TO BE DEBATED AND APPROVED IN SEJM COMMITTEES. HE IS ALSO PREPARING HIS PROMISED ADDRESS TO THE NATION OUTLINING HIS PROGRAM, BUT SOURCE EMPHASIZED THAT THE GENERAL HAS NOT DECIDED WHEN TO ANNOUNCE THIS PROGRAM AND WHAT FORM IT WILL TAKE.

11. NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOLIDARITY: SOURCE REFERRED TO THE NEGOTIATIONS BEING CARRIED OUT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND SOLIDARITY. HE CLAIMED THAT VICE PREMIER MIECZYSLAW RAKOWSKI AND MINISTER CIOSEK ARE HEADING THE GOVERNMENT TEAM. SOLIDARITY IS REPRESENTED BY SOME REGIONAL CHAIRMEN WHO WERE NOT ARRESTED. WHILE THESE TALKS ARE IN THE FIRST PLACE CONCERNED WITH TECHNICAL MATTERS, SUCH AS UNION ACTIVITIES RELATING TO ROUTINE WORKERS' BENEFITS, THEY HAVE REAL POLITICAL CONTENT AND IMPLICATIONS. SOURCE ALSO SAID THAT THE TALKS WITH WALESA ARE GOING NOWHERE. WALESA IS INSISTING ON THE PRESENCE OF CELINSKI AND MAZOWIECKI, TO WHICH THE GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO AGREE.

12. NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CHURCH: SOURCE CLAIMED THAT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCH, WHILE SIMILARLY ON THE SURFACE ARE CONFINED TO TECHNICAL SUBJECTS SUCH AS ACCESS TO DETAINEES, ARE ALSO POLITICAL IN NATURE. BARCIKOWSKI IS THE MAIN GOVERNMENT (PARTY) NEGOTIATOR, AND BISHOP DABROWSKI REPRESENTS THE CHURCH. IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS SOURCE CLAIMED THAT THE CHURCH, "WHICH IS A 2000 YEAR OLD POLITICAL INSTITUTION," IS LOOKING OUT MORE FOR ITS INTERESTS THAN THE INTERESTS OF THE NATION.

13. THE ECONOMY: SOURCE CLAIMED THE PERFORMANCE OF THE ECONOMY SINCE JANUARY 1 GIVES A BASIS FOR HOPE. HE CITED INCREASED COAL PRODUCTION AND A FAVORABLE ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF PEASANTS TOWARD MARTIAL LAW AS EVIDENCE. HE SAID THIS EVIDENCE IS NOT SOLID ENOUGH YET TO BASE PLANS ON ITS, BUT HE IS OPTIMISTIC ON THE INTERNAL ECONOMY. HE AGREED THAT POLAND'S INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL POSITION IS SHAKY AT BEST AND, IN THIS CONNECTION, DEcriED U.S. POLICY MEASURES TAKEN AFTER DECEMBER 13, "WHICH CAN ONLY DRIVE US INTO THE ARMS OF THE RUSSIANS".

SECRET

fifty

SECRET

STATE

82 7764789

SSO

PAGE 005

NC 7764789

TOR: 071006Z JAN 82

14. DISCUSSION WITH KISZCZAK: SOURCE CLAIMED THAT HE HAD TALKED JANUARY 6 WITH GENERAL KISZCZAK, MINISTER OF INTERIOR. KISZCZAK HAD TOLD HIM THAT TELEPHONE SERVICE WOULD BE RESTORED TO WARSAW NEXT WEEK. SOURCE LAMENTED THAT HE HAD LOST AN ARGUMENT AGAINST THE BAN ON THE INDEPENDENT ASSOCIATION OF STUDENTS (NZS), WHICH HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED, AND AGAINST KISZCZAK'S PLAN TO DISMISS MANY UNIVERSITY RECTORS (WHICH HAS NOT BEEN ANNOUNCED).

15. SOLIDARITY: AS IN THE PAST, SOURCE WAS HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP, WHICH HE TERMED AS GREEDY FOR POLITICAL POWER AND POLITICALLY IMMATURE. HE BLAMED SOLIDARITY FOR THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW AND THE OPPORTUNITY FOR POLITICAL REFORM WHICH POLAND HAS LOST. WHILE THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY IS UNCERTAIN, SOURCE CONCLUDED THAT IT IS NOT HOPELESS.

16. COMMENT: SZCZEPANSKI'S REMARKS STRIKE US AS DESIGNED TO PUT JARUZELSKI'S ACTIONS IN THE BEST POSSIBLE LIGHT. HE IS ALSO CAREFUL TO POINT HIMSELF AS A LIBERAL OPERATING WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE PRESENT RULING SYSTEM IN POLAND. HIS ACCOUNT OF THE NIGHT OF DECEMBER 12 IS INTERESTING, AS IS HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BATTLE FOR JARUZELSKI'S MIND. ON THE LATTER POINT, OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THE GENERAL IS MORE LOCKED THAN SZCZEPANSKI SUGGESTS INTO FOLLOWING A REPRESSIVE COURSE. WE DO NOT DISMISS THE POSSIBILITY OF MOVES SUCH AS THE CREATION OF COMMITTEES FOR NATIONAL UNITY, BUT THE KEY WILL BE HOW MEANINGFUL ARE THESE COMMITTEES; WHO DO THEY REALLY REPRESENT AND WHAT WILL THEY ACTUALLY DO? REPORTS THE EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED FROM RELIABLE CHURCH SOURCES REGARDING THE IMPORTANCE OF BOTH CHURCH AND SOLIDARITY NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT DIRECTLY CONTRADICT SZCZEPANSKI'S ASSERTION THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS ARE FOR REAL. LIKEWISE, HIS STATEMENTS ON THE ECONOMY NEED VERIFICATION BEFORE THEY CAN BE ACCEPTED AT FACE VALUE.

17.
MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
MEEHAN

END OF MESSAGE

SECRET

fifty

POLAND: USPOW 3

(1840) 7763962 0070546Z FRP POL, KAVIA, KOLI, LTD, FC-001

12/19/7

SECRET

FRP:

25X1

82 7763962

SSO

PAGE 001

AC 7763962

TOR: 070519Z JAN 82

OO RUEATIB

ZNY SSSSS ZOC STATE ZZH

OO RUEHC

DE RUEHC #3347 0070516

ZNY SSSSS ZZH

O 070338Z JAN 82 ZEX

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE

BT

SECRET STATE 003347

E.O. 12065: RDS-3 1/6/02 (GOMPERT, DAVID C.)

TAGS: NATO, NAC, PL

SUBJECT: NAC MINISTERIAL: DECLARATION

1. SENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOR USNATO: IN PARA. 5 BELOW WE PROVIDE THE TEXT OF OUR DRAFT "ALLIANCE DECLARATION ON POLAND," WHICH YOU SHOULD CIRCULATE IMMEDIATELY TO MEMBERS AND IS AS THE BASIS FOR THE DOCUMENT TO BE APPROVED BY MINISTERS ON JANUARY 11. IN DOING SO, YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT WE BELIEVE THIS DOCUMENT OBVIATES ANY COMMUNIQUE AND THAT WE WOULD, AT A MINIMUM, BE OPPOSED TO A COMMUNIQUE WHICH DEPARTS FROM THE THRUST AND SUBSTANCE OF THE DECLARATION.

3. FOR CAPITALS: YOU SHOULD SHARE OUR TEXT WITH APPROPRIATE HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. YOU MAY ELICIT THEIR COMMENTS, BUT YOU SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT IN ANY WAY

SECRET

SECRET

STATE

82 7763962 SS0

PAGE 002

NC 7763962

TOR: 070519Z JAN 82

TO NEGOTIATE THE SUBSTANCE. THE TEXT WILL BE WORKED AT NATO, AND IS THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATIONS HERE IN WASHINGTON.

4. IN PRESENTING AND DISCUSSING THE DECLARATION, YOU MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING:

-- THE REPRESSIVE POLICIES OF THE POLISH REGIME WILL SERVE ONLY TO DEEPEN THE POLISH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CRISIS.

-- JARUZELSKI MAY TAKE A DRAMATIC INITIATIVE AIMED AT REINFORCING HIS CONTENTION THAT HE HAD NO CHOICE AND AT CONVINCING THE WEST THAT HIS INTENTIONS ARE GOOD. BUT THE HARD EVIDENCE POINTS TO EXTENDED REPRESSION, ENCOURAGED AND ABETTED BY THE SOVIET UNION, AS THE POLISH AUTHORITIES ATTEMPT TO JAM THE SOLIDARITY GENIE BACK IN THE BOTTLE AND STIFLE ANY POSSIBILITY OF THE FUNDAMENTAL REFORMS POLAND DESPERATELY NEEDS.

-- THEREFORE, WE MAY WELL FACE LONG-TERM INSTABILITY IN POLAND, WITH MASSIVE, SYSTEMATIC VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONTINUING, PERHAPS INCREASING, PROSPECTS OF OVERT SOVIET INTERVENTION. SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD DO INCALCULABLE DAMAGE TO ANY PROSPECTS FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP, AND IT COULD GRAVELY THREATEN SECURITY AND STABILITY THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

-- CONSEQUENTLY, WE ARE CONFRONTED NOW WITH THE NECESSITY TO CONCERT OUR EFFORTS. WE MUST GO BEYOND RHETORIC AND AGREE ON A POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR ALLIANCE ACTIONS AIMED AT FOSTERING RECONCILIATION AND RETURN TO RENEWAL WHICH ARE CRUCIAL TO LONG-TERM STABILITY, PROGRESS AND THE PROTECTION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S MOST BASIC FREEDOMS.

-- THE DRAFT ALLIANCE DECLARATION ON POLAND PROVIDES A BASIS FOR AN AGREED POLICY FRAMEWORK AND FOR A CONCERTED ALLIANCE STRATEGY TO ACHIEVE OUR OBJECTIVES.

-- WE SEEK TO HAVE THIS DOCUMENT APPROVED BY FOREIGN

SECRET

3

SECRET

STATE

62 1763962 SSO

PAGE 003

IC 77-3962

TOR: 070519Z JAN 82

MINISTERS ON MONDAY AND RELEASED AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MINISTERIAL AS AN AGREED ALLIANCE DECLARATION ON POLAND. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT SUCH A STRONG NATO DECLARATION IS VITAL IF WE ARE TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF TURNING THE SITUATION IN POLAND AROUND AND OF MINIMIZING SOVIET TROUBLE-MAKING.

-- YOU WILL NOTE THAT THE POLITICAL MEASURES INDICATED IN THE DECLARATION ARE GENERAL IN NATURE. THEY WOULD ALLOW APPROPRIATE DISCRETION ON THE PART OF MEMBER GOVERNMENTS.

-- BUT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE ALL TAKE STEPS THAT MOVE US COLLECTIVELY IN THIS DIRECTION. TO DO NOTHING AT

THE POLITICAL LEVEL, OR TOO LITTLE, WOULD SEND THE WRONG SIGNAL ABOUT ALLIED UNITY AND RESOLVE. IT COULD ENCOURAGE THE POLISH AUTHORITIES TO BELIEVE THEY COULD, WITHOUT PENALTY, CONTINUE OR EVEN INTENSIFY THEIR REPRESSION; IT COULD LEAD THE SOVIETS TO THINK THAT THEY COULD GET AWAY WITH EVEN MORE BLATANT INTERVENTION IN POLISH AFFAIRS WITHOUT COST.

-- IN ADDITION TO ACHIEVING AGREEMENT ON THIS OVERALL ALLIANCE APPROACH, IN THE FORM OF A MINISTERIAL DECLARATION, WE WANT TO USE THE MINISTERIAL TO BEGIN ALLIANCE CONSIDERATION OF ECONOMIC STEPS PARALLEL TO THOSE TAKEN BY THE U.S.

-- WE RECOGNIZE THAT AGREEMENT ON THESE STEPS AT THIS MINISTERIAL IS NOT POSSIBLE. BUT WE WOULD HOPE AT LEAST TO ESTABLISH AN AGENDA FOR FURTHER CONSULTATION. WE NOTE THAT THE EC MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE STATED THAT CONSULTATIONS ON SPECIFIC MEASURES SHOULD BEGIN, AND WE SEE THIS MINISTERIAL AS AN IMPORTANT FIRST STEP.

5. BEGIN TEXT: THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL AND REFORM WHICH HAD BEEN UNDERWAY IN POLAND SINCE AUGUST 1980 WAS ONE OF THE MOST HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENTS TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II. LIBERALIZATION IN POLAND, RESULTING FROM THE OVERWHELMING PRESSURE OF THE

SECRET

SECRET

STATE

82 7765962

SSO

PAGE 004

NO 7765962

TOR: 070519Z JAN 82

MAJORITY, PROMISED TO GIVE EFFECTIVE VOICE TO THE GOALS AND ASPIRATIONS OF A PROUD PEOPLE. THIS PROCESS OFFERED THE PROSPECT OF FULFILLMENT OF THE HOPES HELD IN BOTH THE WEST AND THE EAST THAT ENHANCED STABILITY IN EUROPE WOULD BRING WITH IT A MORE DECENT AND OPEN LIFE FOR THE OPPRESSED.

BUT THE REPRESSION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE THREATENS TO REVERSE THE GAINS OF THE PAST 16 MONTHS, TO STRIP FROM THE POLISH PEOPLE THEIR HARD-WON RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, AND TO DESTROY THE BASIS FOR THE RECONCILIATION AND COMPROMISE WHICH ARE NECESSARY TO POLISH PROGRESS AND STABILITY.

THIS OPPRESSION CONSTITUTES A MASSIVE VIOLATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT FOR WHICH THE POLISH AUTHORITIES AND THE SOVIET UNION BEAR FULL RESPONSIBILITY. THE ACTIONS OF THE POLISH AUTHORITIES ARE A CLEAR FAILURE TO ABIDE BY PRINCIPLE VII OF THE FINAL ACT, CONCERNING RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. THE PRESSURES AND THREATS OF THE SOVIET UNION WHICH LED TO THESE ACTIONS BY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES, AND SOVIET COMPLICITY IN THE CONTINUING SUPPRESSION OF THE POLISH

PEOPLE, ALSO ARE IN VIOLATION OF THE SOVIET UNION'S UNDERTAKINGS UNDER THE FINAL ACT, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO PRINCIPLES I (SOVEREIGN EQUALITY, RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS INHERENT IN SOVEREIGNTY); II (REFRAINING FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE); III (NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS); AND VIII (EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES).

THE NATO ALLIES CALL FOR A RESTORATION OF THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL IN POLAND BASED ON THE RELEASE OF THOSE DETAINED, RECONCILIATION, GENUINE NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE. ONLY THUS CAN THE BASIC RIGHTS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE BE PROTECTED AND THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS OF THE COUNTRY BE SECURED. ONLY THUS CAN THE FREEDOM OF POLISH WORKERS BE ENHANCED. BUT THIS WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE SO LONG AS OPPRESSION BY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES AND INTERFERENCE BY THE SOVIET UNION.

SECRET

3

SECRET

STATE

82 7763962

530

PAGE 005

AC 7763962

TOR: 070519Z JAN 82

PERSIST. THE CONSTRUCTIVE EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP WHICH THE NATO ALLIES SEEK DEPENDS UPON REALIZATION OF THESE GOALS.

INDEED, THE PERSISTENCE OF REPRESSION IN POLAND IS ERODING THE POLITICAL FOUNDATION FOR PROGRESS ON THE FULL AGENDA OF ISSUES WHICH DIVIDE EAST AND WEST. THE ALLIES REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE PURSUIT OF ARMS CONTROL AND STAND BY THE INITIATIVES CONTAINED IN PRESIDENT REAGAN'S NOVEMBER 18 SPEECH. THE SOVIET UNION WILL BEAR FULL RESPONSIBILITY IF ITS INTERFERENCE IN POLAND AND FAILURE TO LIVE UP TO EXISTING INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS DAMAGE THE ARMS CONTROL PROCESS.

PROSPECTS FOR AGREEMENT ON A MANDATE FOR A CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE HAVE BEEN DAMAGED BY THE SUPPRESSION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE. IN VIEW OF THIS BLATANT CHALLENGE TO THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, THE ALLIES WILL INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORTS IN MADRID TO BRING ABOUT GREATER RESPECT FOR AND STRENGTHENING OF THE CSCE PROCESS. THEY CALL FOR AN IMMEDIATE RESUMPTION OF THE MADRID CONFERENCE AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL TO CONSIDER VIOLATIONS OF THE FINAL ACT AND TO PURSUE REMEDIAL ACTIONS.

THE GENEVA TALKS ON INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES WILL RESUME ON JANUARY 12. IMPROVEMENT OF THE TREATMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE WOULD HELP CREATE THE ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND RESTRAINT REQUIRED FOR PROGRESS TOWARD MEANINGFUL RESULTS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

BECAUSE PRODUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND POLISH AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN MADE MOST DIFFICULT BY THE SUPPRESSION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE, THE ALLIES WILL INSTITUTE THE FOLLOWING STEPS:

A. RESTRICTIONS ON SOVIET AND POLISH DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS.

B. CURTAILMENT OF CULTURAL, ACADEMIC AND SCIENTIFIC

SECRET

3

SECRET

STATE

82 7763962 SSO

PAGE 006

DC 7763962

TOR: 070519Z JAN 82

EXCHANGES.

THE ALLIES WILL ALSO INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORTS TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS THE CRIMES BEING COMMITTED AGAINST THE POLISH PEOPLE.

SO LONG AS THE SITUATION IN POLAND DOES NOT IMPROVE, ECONOMIC INTERCOURSE WITH POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION CANNOT CONTINUE AS BEFORE. THE ALLIES WELCOMED THE DETERMINATION OF THE UNITED STATES TO SEND A STRONG SIGNAL OF DISAPPROVAL OF THE POLISH SITUATION IN THE FORM OF ECONOMIC MEASURES. THEY WILL DO NOTHING TO WEAKEN THE EFFECTS OF THOSE MEASURES OR MEASURES TAKEN BY ANY OTHER ALLY. THE ALLIES ARE ACTIVELY CONSULTING ON ECONOMIC STEPS PARALLEL TO THOSE TAKEN BY THE UNITED STATES. THEY WANT THERE TO BE NO DOUBT THAT CONTINUATION OF REPRESSION IN POLAND WILL FURTHER AFFECT EAST-WEST ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

THE ALLIES HOPE THAT THERE WILL SOON BE NO REASON FOR SUCH ACTIONS, AND THAT NORMAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERCOURSE WITH POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION CAN BE RESUMED. WITH RECONCILIATION AND A RESTORATION OF THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL IN POLAND, THE WEST WOULD STAND PREPARED TO DO ITS SHARE TO ASSIST POLAND TO OVERCOME ITS SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND EMBARK ON A NEW PERIOD OF PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY. IN ANY CASE, HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE POLISH PEOPLE, WITH APPROPRIATE GUARANTEES THAT IT WILL REACH THOSE FOR WHOM IT IS INTENDED, WILL NOT BE AFFECTED BY ANY OTHER MEASURES DECIDED UPON BY THE ALLIES. THIS ASSISTANCE WILL BE MAINTAINED, AND WHERE POSSIBLE AND APPROPRIATE, INCREASED. END TEXT. HAIG

END OF MESSAGE

SECRET